1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

585 put on the platform that was previously prepared in the boy's mother's hut. All the kinsmen of the boy, male and female, who belong to the same clan (that is, all the members of his lineage) go and eat with the young couple, and they can bring in any one they wish, irrespective of clan. They eat all the food that was given them at the girl's village, which the women have brought back with them. The young couple really eat this time, instead of pretending.

Then the married pair lie down together on one bed[1] inside the boy's mother's hut and the marriage is consummated. My informants ended their account by saying: 'The man wants the woman all the time, they have connexion again and again, they go on all the time, they cannot sleep.'

585 184 The account given at Tabut differs somewhat from the preceding one obtained at Kurtatchi. Apart from the details previously mentioned, the ceremony is described as taking place at the boy's village, and after it, all the boy's *waris* go back to their own village, while the girl stays with her husband, and is supposed to cry for her mother—some really cry, some only pretend. When the sun goes down, the young couple are told to go into the boy's mother's hut and eat the taro that they will find there. Not many people are there, only the boy's mother and his grandmother. The boy's grandmother tells the girl: 'Now you must not be ashamed before your husband any more.' Then she tells the boy: 'And you, you must not be ashamed before your wife. You two can sleep together on one bed now, and can eat together out of one basket of taro.' Then the two eat, the boy eats first and the girl after him. They eat a piece of pig and a piece of taro. The boy bites off a piece and then gives the rest to the girl. This is to signify that, in future, when the husband eats, he will not finish all the food, but will leave some for his wife, who must finish it, and the girl must take care to provide the man with plenty of food. 'Then the two lie together and have sexual intercourse, they laugh on the bed, they play with each other and talk, and chew the betel-mixture, they
532 do not sleep.'

184 565 585 On the Lontis coast, north-western Buka, when a woman who is *tunaun* marries and is escorted to her husband's hut—or rather to his mother's hut, where they will live at first, in most instances—

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[1] In the ordinary way man and wife occupy separate planks, with the usual space between for a smouldering fire.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 8

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a b

a. FEMALE FIGURE USED IN MARRIAGE CEREMONY, BUKA
b. MALE FIGURE, CICATRIZED

[facing p. 94]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, very similar figures are made for use in the *watawutf* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	*Transactions*
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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the bush. Here it is not always convenient to lie down, so a standing position is adopted, the man behind the woman who bends her body forward. I have two drawings, both done by young men, showing couples in this position, and on one occasion when I observed children playing at copulation it was done thus.

The bush is the favourite place for love-making. The taro garden is frequently chosen by husband and wife; clandestine lovers prefer the uncleared bush. This preference is the basis of some of the stock insults current among these people. A person of either sex who is angry with a woman will say to her: '*Wanits i ratsu.*' 'You copulate in the bush', or '*Giug i ratsu.*' 'You conceive in the bush.' (These are indicatives, not imperatives.)[1]

As far as I know, there are no periods of special licence, nor is there any occasion on which extra-marital intercourse is either enjoined or sanctioned with ritual significance, unless we include the punishment of a woman in this manner for breaking taboos connected with the boys' puberty rites (see Chap. VI).

Sexual abstinence is imposed upon certain individuals under special circumstances, but I do not know of any time when the prohibition is general. A woman must refrain from intercourse for some time after the birth of a child. The young men who act as sponsors (*amro*) to the adolescent boys wearing the *upi* must remain continent during certain stages of the puberty rites. Abstinence during the previous night is essential if a man wishes to succeed in bonito fishing, but there are 'medicines' whereby the result of breaking this taboo may be circumvented.

PROSTITUTION

I learned of nothing that could be described as prostitution occurring among these people, as is perhaps to be expected in a community where a partner can be obtained without difficulty. Presents of tobacco, betel, &c., will sometimes pass between lovers, but these are signs of preference, not payment for services rendered. In most villages there are some women who are known to be liberal with their favours, usually these are young wives whose husbands are away working as indentured labourers.

[1] Other stock insults are concerned with incestuous relationships and with faeces, just as in other parts of Melanesia. Typical examples are '*No en sas a tin a tfinanau!*' 'Go eat your mother's faeces!' '*Tetop tfinan!*' 'Copulate with your mother!'

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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soon as the participants had recovered their breath after the last effort. Sometimes two sides charged each other, sometimes one or other party marched round a big tree in the centre of the ground, stamping and gesticulating wildly. Their rushes were very dramatic. Some had feather head-dresses, or bunches of bright-coloured parrot feathers in their hair, which, with the paint on their faces and the green leaves covering the upi, added to the effect. Many of the boys did not succeed in keeping their *upi* on their heads, but as there were no women present, they were not much concerned. It was the first time I had had an opportunity of seeing any boys without their head-gear. The hair of many of them fell below their waists, that of others, who had not worn the *upi* for so long, reached only to the shoulders.

After three or four such rushes in quick succession, there was a long wait, everybody in excited suspense. Then a man standing near me said: 'The *urar* are coming now.' Up the hill came a crowd of men, accompanied by two huge figures resembling the giant figures at carnivals. Each was carried by a man walking underneath it, the upper part of his body being inside the body of the figure. One wore a very large *upi* with an elaborate pattern in red and white. The face was roughly carved of wood, blackened and highly polished. The eyes were large and round, made, apparently, of a pair of trade spectacles. The mouths of both were wide open, that of the second had a large tongue showing. They represented a married couple, the one without the *upi* being the woman; her mouth was open because she was crying over her children, as the women cry when their boys are taken from them to go into the bush for the period of isolation prior to this ceremony. The bodies of both figures were covered with long strands of human hair, cut from the heads of previous *upi* wearers at the *wasipsip* ceremony. In the centre of the body was a slit through which the man carrying the figure could see where he was going. The figures finished off in a straight line just below the waist of the men carrying them, whose legs were not concealed at all. The female figure had no breasts represented,[1] and was indistinguishable from the male except for the absence of the *upi*. The hands were of wood, raised on each side, with the arms, which

[1] This is noteworthy, as physical details are usually portrayed with great realism on the representations of the human form made by these people. It may have reference to the legend of origin of the *upi* given on p. 194.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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so. Their hair fell about their shoulders in long matted strands, reaching, in many cases, below their waists. Some had fixed a piece of wood, about three feet long, across their locks at the level of their shoulders, and fastened their hair to it in spread-eagle fashion, twisting all sorts of leaves and creepers into it.

After a great deal of rushing about and shouting, the *urar* figures were brought out, mounted, as on the previous occasion, on men's shoulders. First came a male figure, wearing a giant *upi* (Pl. 25), then a woman's figure, representing his wife, both covered with hair cut from previous *upi*-wearers. In contrast to the female figure at the ceremony previously described, this one was furnished with female breasts (Pl. 26). There were four other *urar* figures, with slightly differing heads. One of these was taken away to show to the women from a distance, to the accompaniment of the whirr of two bull-roarers. Then the novices were brought out; only fifteen of them this time. Their heads were bare; there were none of the conical hats such as had been worn by the novices at the other performance. They were grouped together with their *amro* round them, and the *urar* figures were made to bend over them, gesticulating wildly, and going through the motions of killing them, two axes being knocked together to imitate the noise of the blows. This was done once and for all, to all the novices *en bloc*; there was no dramatic presentation of the boys one by one as on the former occasion. They were then laid out on the ground for dead, and covered with leaves. Then the female *urar* came and gesticulated over them, bringing them to life again. By this time the light was failing, and as there was much crowding and pushing on the part of the spectators, it was difficult to see clearly just what was done. I was told later that the female *urar* was supposed to give the boys her urine to drink, by pouring it over them, but that it was not really urine, only water. All the boys got up and stood in a group. There had been a great deal of muddle and delay in the earlier part of the day, and now darkness was upon us before the ceremony was finished. It was therefore decided to defer the putting on of the new *upi* till the next day, when it would be done at dawn, without further ritual, they told me. Nothing would have induced my party to stay in the mountains all night, so I was reluctantly obliged to return with them, without seeing this.

This performance of the *wapi* ceremony was not nearly so

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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spectacular as the other, though there were many more people present. They had not prepared the ground so well, and it was too flat to give the same opportunity for dramatic effect as was provided by the steep slopes of the other site. The whole thing was much less effectively stage-managed, and I was very disappointed at not seeing the end of it. But it gave me an opportunity of learning new details, and I have reported it thus fully as an example of the kind of variation that may be expected in traditional ritual as performed by different local groups.

THE *URAR* FIGURES

The figures used in the *wapi* ceremony to represent the *urar*, or spirits of the dead, are made by the older men in the bush, under conditions of the greatest secrecy. They remain hidden in the bush till wanted. They are made of wood, their faces are painted, and their bodies are covered with the hair cut from former initiates at the *wasipsip* ceremony, or, in some cases, with moss. After the ceremony the hair is carefully removed and stored again in the *tobar* for future use. The figure is burnt, together with its *upi*, if it has worn one. I have no details about the manufacture of these figures, except this small point. The man who makes them chews the root of the plant *nin* and spits inside the figure, to ensure that it shall not be heavy when carried on the shoulders.

Each figure represents an individual *urar*, whose name it bears, for example Buwō, Bupsuip, Kowō (a female), and Upitomet. The last name was borne by a small boy of Kurtatchi, who had received it at the re-naming ceremony described on p. 219. The more figures there are, the more successful the ceremony. Two are not enough. On our return from a *wapi* ceremony, the question most eagerly asked by those who had not been present was: 'How many *urar* were there?'

The drawing reproduced in Fig. 7 is a young man's representation of one of the *urar* figures being carried on the shoulders of a man at the *wapi* ceremony. He had been mysteriously busy with pencil and paper for some time in the farthest corner of my verandah, and when he finally produced and explained it, begged me not to show it to any one in the village or to tell any one that he had drawn it, because the old men would be very angry with him for doing so.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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THE BULL-ROARER

The whirring of the bull-roarer (*guēv*) represents the voice of the *urar*. Among the people of North Bougainville, this instrument belongs exclusively to the *wapi* ceremony and has no other

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FIG. 7. *Urar* figure at wapi ceremony, being carried on the shoulders of a man. The figure has an *upi* on its head and a bull-roarer in each hand. Drawn by a young man.

function at all. It plays no part in the other two ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. It is very sacred. The people believe that if a man makes it for no reason, he will die.[1] Only a

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[1] Before I knew this, I tried to persuade one of the Kurtatchi boys to make me a model of one, thinking it would be impossible to persuade them to part with one that had actually been used in a ceremony. He refused point-blank without giving any reason, and I saw by his manner that it would be unwise to

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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the importance and danger of the occasion. All the men make as much noise as they can, and the women set up a ritual wailing. My informants said that this wailing is done because the women are afraid that their boys will be poisoned by other natives, and will die; it is of the nature of a safeguard against this disaster. This part of the ceremony is called *wawan*. Seen by the light of coco-nut palm leaf torches, it must be an impressive moment.

When all the boys have been up the trees and come down again, they all go into the long house with their *amro*, who decorate them in the prescribed fashion. Their hair is covered with black paint (*tʃina*), their foreheads are outlined with white (*wiwi*) round the edge of the trimmed hair. This outline is called *wakai*. A small triangular patch of the red paint called *oin* is placed under each eye, and a dab on each ear. The mouth and chin are touched with white. A line of white is carried across from each shoulder under the arm on the other side, and across the back. Cock's feathers are fastened into their hair.

All this takes place so early in the morning that at this stage in the proceedings it is still dark. When dawn is about to break, the outer sheath of leaves covering the special *upi* is taken off, showing the cut-out pattern underneath. The hat designed for each individual is shown to him by his *amro*; he then puts it on, to the accompaniment of much shouting and blowing of pipes. It is essential that there should be a large number of pipes, particularly the large ones called *mabu*. More coco-nut palm leaf torches are lighted. By this time the village is so full of people that there is barely room to move. Part of the palisade round the long house is broken down to make a door. Out of this a procession emerges. First come boys who are not among the initiates, carrying wooden figures of men, women, and birds. These are carefully carved, and are of varying sizes, the birds of natural size, but the men and women are smaller than life (see Pl. 28). Behind the boys carrying these figures come the *amro*, each carrying one of the novices on his shoulder. If one man is *amro* to two boys, he may pay one of the Hahon people to carry one of his charges, or some member of the boy's own clan may carry him, in which case no payment is made. The *amro* carrying the boy who is second in rank (*nonorir*) goes first, the first in rank (*wagi upi*) comes second. This is done so that the second in rank can brush away the cobwebs, covered with dew, that cross the path in the early morning.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

and the discarded *upi* are all burnt. But the strictness with which this provision is adhered to is now somewhat relaxed, and at the *watawutf* held at the village of Ruri before my arrival, Mrs. Hadden was able to obtain two of the wooden figures, which she kindly gave to me. They are figured in Pl. 28*a*. They represent

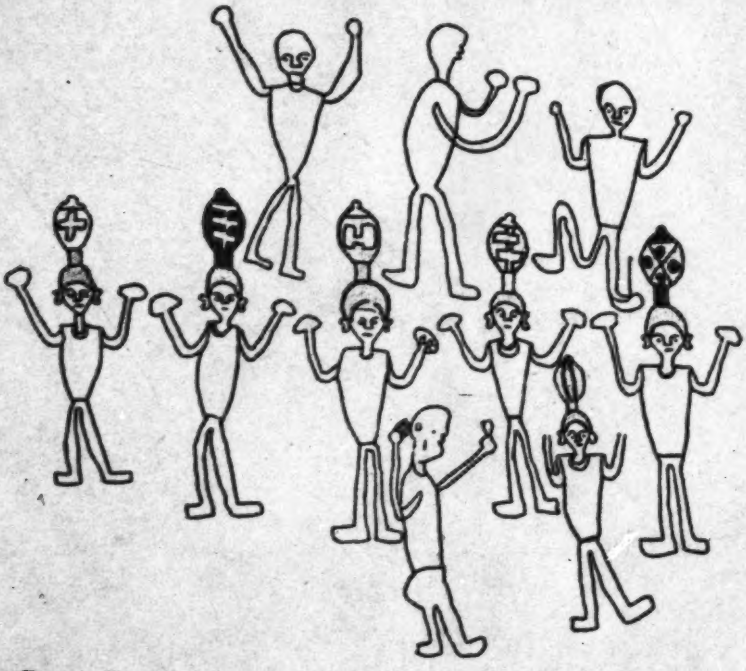

FIG. 9. Dance at the *watawutf* ceremony. Boys wearing special *upi*, the other men are their *amro*.

a male and a female, and are about 3 feet high. Two men of the village of Kurtatchi made for me, of their own accord, models of two other figures, both female, one of which is represented as in an advanced stage of pregnancy (see Pl. 28*b*).[1] The figures are called *kaisa*. Unlike the *urar* figures used in the *wapi* ceremony, they do not represent spirits of the dead, or any one in particular, and they have no names. They are never furnished with *upi*. At no point is there any secrecy attached to them. The little boys, still too small to wear the *upi*, who carry them, know all about

[1] All these figures are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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Kurtatchi

PLATE 28

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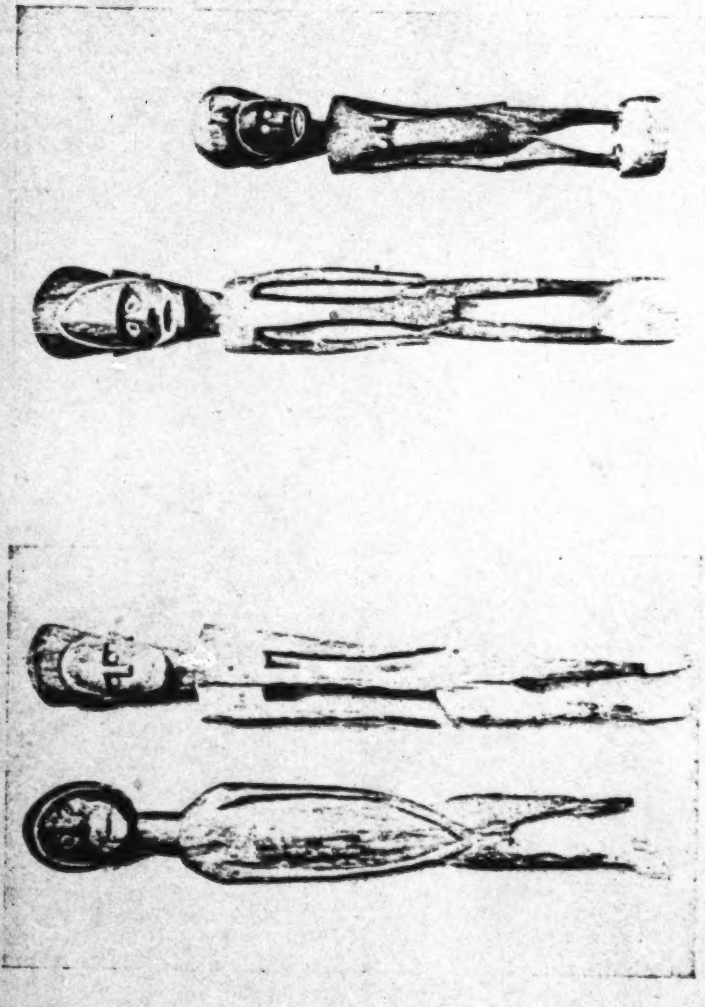

a. FIGURES USED AT BUTABUTA CEREMONY
b. MODELS OF SUCH FIGURES

[Facing p. 238]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

them, and women, though they do not carry them, may see them without hindrance.

THE *WASIPSIP* CEREMONY

The *wasipsip* is considered the least important ceremony of the three. If it is convenient for some of the boys to remove their hats at any particular time after the holding of the *watawutʃ*, a *wasipsip* may be arranged for the benefit of a few, or even of one boy alone, if there is any special reason for doing so. Thus, for example, a boy who wishes to go and work as an indentured labourer will sometimes persuade the elders to hold a *wasipsip* for his benefit. But in the ordinary way, the boys who go through the other two ceremonies together also join for the third.

The boys must first spend a few days, perhaps ten, in the bush. This seclusion is called *wawilbɛ̄*, the same word as is applied to the seclusion before the *wapi*. They stay in the bush until noon on the day fixed for the ceremony. During this time they must not be seen by the women. Food is brought to them by the *kwigin*. At noon they come to the village and go inside a palisade enclosing a little *tobar*, specially made, just big enough to accommodate the number of initiates involved. The inside of this *tobar* is decorated with leaves, and strings of shell money. They remain there for the remainder of that day, and sleep there that night. At dawn next day they get up, and their hair is cut off by their *amro*, with a *kina* shell (a variety of *Cyrena*, having a very sharp edge). The hair is cut quite short, and is trimmed close to the head at the back and perpendicularly at the sides. The *amro* then paint the heads of the novices with the special pattern appropriate to the removal of the *api* (described on p. 224). All the people *kōma*, and *mabu* are blown. For the *wasipsip* it is considered enough if there are two *mabu* only.

The *amro* take their charges on their shoulders, just as they did in the *watawutʃ* ceremony. No lime-pots or areca-nut boughs are carried, and the faces of the initiates are not painted as in the former ceremony. A few figures of men, women, and birds are carried round in front of them; these must be made afresh for this occasion, those used at the *watawutʃ* having been burnt.

When they have been once round, the boys get down from the shoulders of the *amro*, and go to the chief *tumaun*, who gives them water in coco-nut shells. This they must really drink, not pretend

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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and in the ceremony as I saw it, the time during which the girl remained in her mother's hut was only five days. But in discussion, informants told me that she used to remain in her mother's hut for one month after the first discovery of the flux. At Saposa, also, the longer interval was given.

At Saposa there is a further elaboration. A wooden figure, life-size or larger, is carved out of soft wood, to represent a girl ornamented as she would be for this ceremony, with her hair dressed and painted, and a tortoise-shell filigree ornament round her neck. The pattern of the cicatrization on her body is also indicated. This figure is kept in her mother's hut during the period of her seclusion. It appears also at her wedding. One such figure, which I saw during a brief visit to Saposa, had been made for a girl who had died; it was to be burnt after a suitable interval with other of her belongings (Pl. 32).

WOMEN'S VIEWS ON MENSTRUATION

The reason given by the natives for holding the ceremony above described is one which I have not seen put forward elsewhere, namely, to ensure that the girl does not menstruate too frequently or too freely. All the details of the ritual appeared to be directed towards this end, e.g. avoidance of drinking any liquid or eating taro boiled in water during the period of the flux, the use of hard-timbered trees in the preparation of the appropriate mixture to be drunk by all, including the girl herself, at one stage of the proceedings, and the preservation in the rafters of the hut of the package containing the roots and leaves from which this mixture is prepared, to be hardened by the smoke, and thrown away when a child is desired. In all discussions arising out of the ceremony, and from several different informants, this was the only explanation that was forthcoming, and I see no reason to doubt its validity.

The usual duration of the menstrual period *irir* (*iva* = blood) among these women would appear to be three days per month. No one reported a semi-monthly period. A few told me that they had it for one or two days only. One case of five days was reported indirectly; I was also told that the woman in question was not in the habit of taking any of the medicines for controlling the flux which appear to be in universal use. Since data of this sort cannot be checked by personal observation, and in view of the vagueness of all these people in regard to any question of time, I feel no great

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 32

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FIGURE USED AT GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

[facing p. 268]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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224 their object being to make his eyesight keener so that he can locate his quarry. They are all similar to the following:

224 824 *Kuriwarots* (a creeper with a thick juicy stem)

Press out the sap from a piece of the stem, and rub it on your face round your eyes before you start out. This will make you see well.

[532]

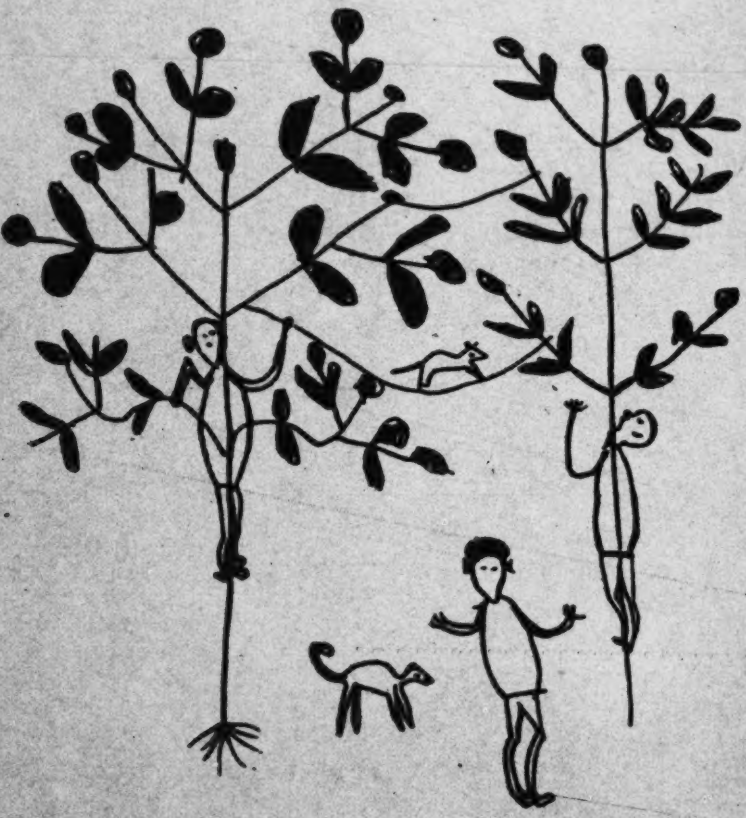

FIG. 10. An Opossum Hunt. The opossum is running along the branch; the animal on the ground is a dog. (Drawn by a boy.)

Wawarūrū (a tree in which opossum like to live)

Take some of the leaves, squeeze them between your hands, and rub them over your eyes when you go out, then you will be able to see the opossum a long way off.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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224. *Method of catching bonito.*

Bonito fishing is usually carried on from a plank canoe (*mon*), the smaller ones, with three seats, being used for this purpose (Fig. 12). But I have seen men go out to follow a shoal in out-

[532]

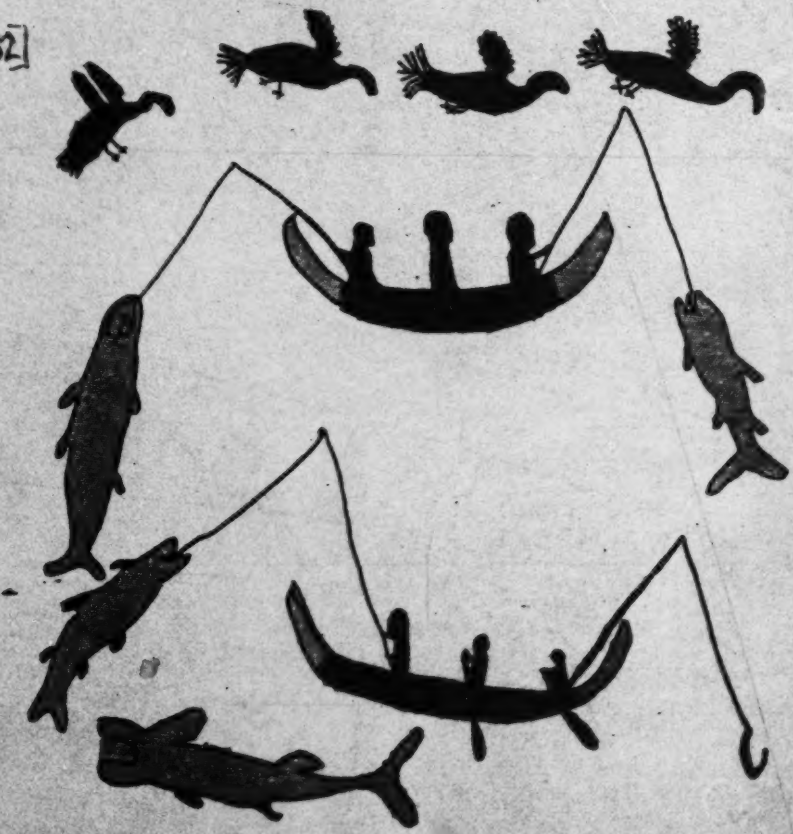
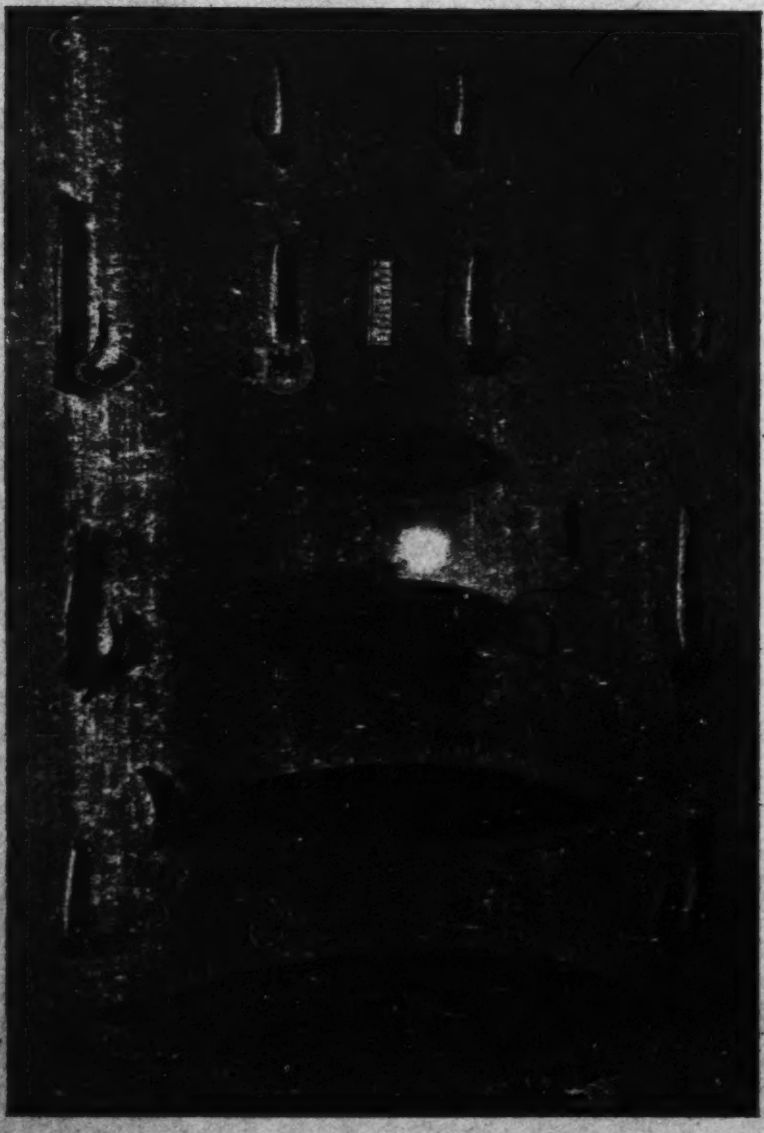


FIG. 12. Fishing for bonito. At the top are the birds who always follow a shoal of bonito, at the bottom is a shark. (Drawn by a young man.)

rigger canoes, if there were no seats for them in the *mon* that were going. Two rods are taken in each canoe, one to be used from the stern and the other from the bow. The stern line is kept trailing behind the canoe, the bow line is cast. If there are more than two men in the canoe, the man in the bow does not paddle, but devotes all his attention to playing for the fish. The man at the stern must

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 42



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BONITO HOOKS AND MODEL FISH

[facing p. 330]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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Kurtatchi

226 anybody knows it. He learnt it at Pororan, from his *tua* (mother's
[604] brother, or some one standing in the same relationship according to their system, see p. 60) Pulaget, now dead. He intends to show it to his sister's son, a boy now about sixteen, when he is older, if he wishes to learn it.

The same man gave me another form of procedure with the same purpose, i.e. to bring large shoals of bonito within reach, which runs as follows:

226 Get a stone, and carve it into the shape of a bonito. Give it an
● 532 eye, and a mouth, and a tail. Go down to the shore and bring up
824 some sea-water to your house, and wash the stone fish in this water, inside the house. Then get some leaves of the *haharib* plant, and put them into a *kōbū* (areca-palm spathe), and put the stone fish on the top of the leaves. Fasten up the *kōbū* and put it in the men's side of the house. Be careful not to put the fish's eye looking out to sea, but put it so that the fish is looking towards the bush, then the bonito will come up towards the shore. Fix a time for taking out the stone fish, perhaps after five nights. When the time comes take the stone fish and rub *magor* on it, get some *iwi* (see p. 417) and rub it on the mouth of the fish. That will make the stone fish very angry, and there will be plenty of bonito. If you want the bonito to finish, take the stone fish out of the *kōbū* and put it away very carefully in your house. Bury the leaves in the sand. Then the bonito will go away.

226 Minka said he learnt this method from his brother, Kiowali, who
532 taught him when he felt that he was about to die. Kiowali possessed two stone fish, one entire, the other with a broken tail. The latter he threw away, the other is in Minka's possession and was shown to me, in great secrecy, when no one was about. It is particularly important that the stone fish should not be seen by women, or it will lose its power. He said he could not give it to me, because he
[177] had no other. I subsequently procured one from a man at Ruri, who had used it, but on the advice of the native mission teacher had decided not to do so any more. It is made of a hard black stone, of a volcanic nature, apparently a species of diorite, very similar to other stones used in different kinds of magic. It has a string of trade beads in its mouth, and round its tail, to which is also attached a bunch of dried grass (Pl. 42 centre).

On the north coast of Bougainville wooden models of bonito are sometimes used instead of stone ones; these seem to be later

[i.e., Minka. – Analyst]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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derivatives. They are not so highly valued, and less care is taken to keep them from the sight of women. They are used in the same way as the stone fish. One which I procured at Tabut (Pl. 42) had been set up in the shed in which the canoes were kept, with a hook attached to the mid-rib of a coco-nut leaf placed in its mouth. This was to make the bonito angry so that they would take the hook.

There is no mention of model fish in connexion with bonito fishing in the account given by Ivens for the SE. Solomons nor in that for Samoa by Te Rangi Hiroa. Their use in albacore fishing in the Society Islands is described by Nordloff (1930, p. 159), who says there were formerly models for almost every kind of fish. As in Bougainville, the head of the model must be kept turned towards the land to bring the fish close inshore.

In view of the fact, previously mentioned, that the fountain-head of the bonito magic was held to be the island of Pororan, I asked Mr. Gordon Thomas to investigate the matter there. He succeeded, with considerable trouble, in obtaining the following account, which he kindly gave me permission to incorporate here:

Atūn Magic. An account of the procedure adopted by the Pororan natives in order to bring the *atūn* fish into their fishing grounds. By E. L. Gordon Thomas.

The *atūn* (commonly called amongst the white population the 'king-fish') travels in shoals and frequents deep water. Its presence is invariably known by the large flocks of sea-birds hovering over the shoals in search of food. It is a fish that is highly prized amongst the Buka natives for eating purposes. It has no other value.

The magic employed is worked by one or two men who have been initiated into the mysteries by older relations, usually a cousin or a brother. There is a magic stone and a magic mixture of herbs and paint, which is used by the workers.

Timas, of Novar (Buka Passage), is the first one of whom I can find any record of having used this magic. The Pororan natives assert that he was the first man to use it. His time would be about sixty to seventy years ago, so far as I can ascertain. From him Pineri, of Pororan, became possessed of the secret, and he, in turn, passed it on to Nahu, who gave the secret to Sowi. It was from Sowi that I obtained the information here given. Sowi is a man of advanced years, somewhere in the vicinity of fifty years of age. He

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226 791 holds no official status amongst the natives, but is honoured for his ability to bring the *atūn* into the Pororan fishing-grounds.

226 ●532 The magic stone, called by the Pororan natives *tokamu*, which means 'not a long time', consists of a small replica of a fish, carved from a soft stone (somewhat similar to a sandstone) obtained from the mainland of Buka in one of the small rivers. It is usually about 6 inches long, 2 inches deep, and 1¼ inches thick. Some of the stones are plain with no carving, others have a fish's mouth, eyes, fins, and tail carved roughly.

226 824 The magic mixture, *hirako* (which is the same name as that given to magic potions, whether love potions or mixtures used when on raiding expeditions to send their foes to sleep), is a red powder, and contains crushed grass seeds (*sa'i*), the scraped inside bark of a tree (*hakala*), another inside bark of the *maluba* tree, a small quantity of the love potion (which is obtained from Hahon; the ingredients are not known to the Pororan natives), and the juice of the wild sugar, which is used to dampen the herbs. The seeds and scraped tree barks, together with the sugar juice, are placed in a pot over a slow fire and heated until the juice of the sugar is thoroughly absorbed by the herbs. After heating, a small portion of red oxide of iron (which is obtained from the Timputs or Baniu districts) is added to the mixture and then the whole is placed in the sun to dry. When dried it is placed in small leaf packages and securely tied with native string. These packages of mixture are prepared with great secrecy in the depths of the bush, careful watch being kept that no other men than those initiated are able to witness the operation. Usually sufficient mixture for about ten packages is prepared.

226 Before the actual working of the *hirako* the medicine man and his assistant repair to the bush and there gather the necessary leaves and bark for the preparation of the magic. These leaves and barks are made into a bundle, and, while the medicine man seats himself upon the ground and calls upon the spirits of departed medicine men to assist him in his work, the assistant slowly moves down on to the beach carrying the bundle upon his head. Arriving at the beach, he places it beneath stones, the leaves pointing towards the sea, the roots towards the bush. He then walks slowly around the bundle, and then walks into the sea and splashes his hands about in the water, making a noise similar to that made by the *atūn* when they muster at sea.

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The following are typical examples of the numerous 'prescriptions' suitable for use with rod and line:

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Gartan.

Chew portion of the root with betel-mixture; spit on to fish-line.

[532]

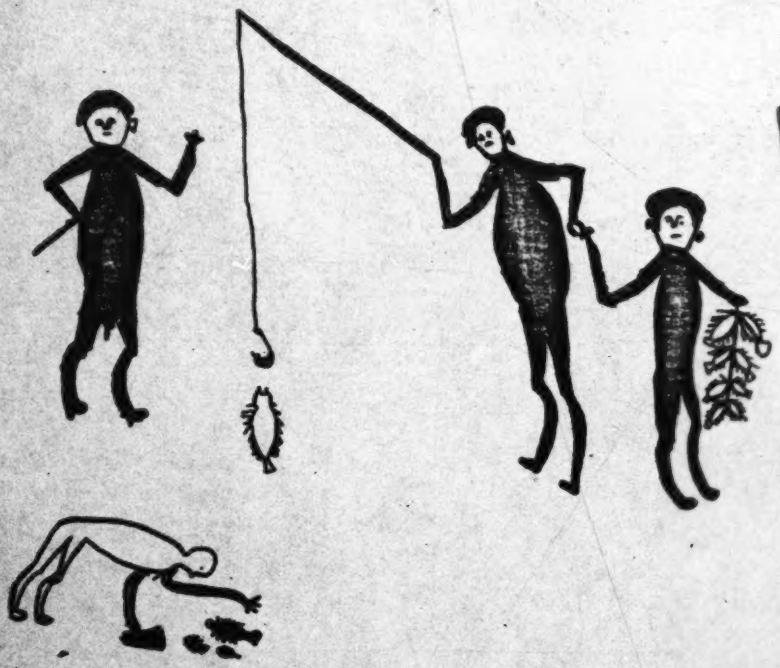

FIG. 14. Fishing. The central figure is a man fishing with rod and line; the boy on the right holds a string of fish. At the bottom on the left is a woman fishing on the reef with a basket. (Drawn by a boy.)

Fasten a small piece of the root on to the end of the line where it joins the rod, and you will catch many fish.

Iwi (a mixture).

Mix a little of this with *magor* (see p. 475), chew with betel-mixture, spit on hand and rub on fish-line.

Iwiy (a hard-wood tree).

Take some leaves, rub hard between hands, add a small quantity of *sisima* (see p. 475) and rub on line.

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FIG. 15. Man and woman collecting *Tuwaluy*

[facing p. 358]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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it is collected from the reef. This seaweed (*mō*) is a calcareous alga which Dr. Haddon tells me is used for the same purpose from Matty Islands to Santa Cruz. A zigzag pattern (*bīin*) may be painted in red along each side at the upper or lower margin, or both.

No ceremonies accompany the launching of a dug-out canoe.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH DUG-OUT CANOE[1]

Meaning of Term.	*Petats.*	*Kurtatchi.*
Dug-out canoe with outrigger	*dʒini*	*tʃinio*
Tree of which it is generally made	*uērtsil*	*tʃinio*
Keel	*habin*	
Rim	*pónahan*	
Sides	*rēhin*	
Generic term for either end (same word as for 'nose')	*ūsū*	*pipirus*
Bow	*mīs*	*matóm*
Stern	*tao*	*hdpits*
Hook on either end (same word as for 'hornbill')	*póyo*	*tʃitʃio*
Slope of outline from keel to hook	*ldmut*	
Outrigger booms and poles forming platform	*kīkilin* (*kikilil*)	*wandr*
Sticks (3) inside canoe, to which the outrigger booms are fastened	*sōkau*	*tapdr*
Cross-bars bracing platform	*pīnin*	*pūul*
Stick attachment joining float to booms	*ki*	*ke*
Binding fixing booms to canoe	*pīlpil*	*lau*
Creeper of which this is made (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.)	*aisam*	*daam*
Outrigger float	*hdtal* or *halas*	*ag* or *waga*
Paddle	*hos*	*owes*

Size. Three grades are distinguished by name, the actual measurements varying slightly within each class: *dʒini kekerik*, a small canoe suitable for two people but manageable by one paddler alone; *dʒini kahal*, medium size, can be paddled by two, but will take a passenger or a third paddler if required; *dʒini dʒin*, a large canoe for four or more people; these are unusual as they are rather clumsy to manage.

My own table of measurements was unfortunately lost, but the following, kindly taken by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Peroran, may be regarded as typical of the whole area.

[1] Some of the Petats terms have been previously recorded by Friederici (1912, p. 293).

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Designs of shafts of spears and arrows.

The designs of arrow shafts are similar to those found in the other islands of the Solomon group, which have been discussed by H. Balfour (1893, p. 102). 411 531

Spears covered with an elaborately woven layer of grass coloured red and yellow in various patterns are carried on ceremonial occasions, but they are not made locally, being obtained from Kunua and other mountain people by barter. The patterns are similar to those on the woven arm-bands. [438]

DRAWINGS

With the exception of a few young men who had experimented with paper and pencil during their time as plantation labourers, the nearest approach to drawing practised by these natives is to make marks in the sand or mud with a stick. I have seen a man demonstrate in this way the proper lay-out of a coco-nut plantation. Children sometimes use their toes. 532

I provided drawing-paper and coloured pencils, which most people had to be taught how to hold. After a certain amount of shyness, the idea caught on, especially among the young men, and there was a run on my drawing materials until they gave out. Some of their efforts are reproduced in Figs. 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 29. Sometimes the attempt resulted in unintelligible scribblings, which, although the work of adults, generally women, resemble a baby's first efforts to handle a pencil. 532 177

They appeared to have no difficulty in comprehending pictures, including those involving the recognition of objects in perspective. One man even introduced perspective into his own drawing, explaining that the woman in his picture was smaller because she was behind the others. Every one was much interested in some pictures I had with me, particularly photographs of primitive people in other parts of the world. They could interpret a photographic negative, even to the extent of recognizing themselves and their friends in it. They understood without explanation the plan I made of the village, and could tell me from it who lived in each house. 151

FIGURE CARVING

Reference has already been made to the representations of the human form made for marriage and puberty ceremonies. These 532

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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532 are fashioned of soft wood, and painted black, with the features in red or white. The same colouring matter is used as for the designs painted on the person. Bits of shell are sometimes set into the eyes. Large figures of birds are also carved for use at the *watawutf* ceremony. I have seen a very realistic representation of the hornbill, with extended wings. The younger men sometimes amuse themselves by making small figures of birds and animals, especially dogs and pigs. These are done with the aid of trade knives, or penknives, which are preferred if they can be obtained. The extended wings of a bird or the ears of an animal are often made separately and inserted into slots cut in its body.

The stone models of fish used in bonito magic (now sometimes replaced by the more easily manufactured wooden ones) are the only examples known to me of figures made of stone.

So far as I am aware, no attempts are made, either by adults or children, to model figures in clay or any similar substance.

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the water they were cooked in and wash the man all over. Then they put out his eyes with a stick. The dead man climbs a tree, and jumps off it into the sea, then he goes back to the place where he died. The people cannot see him, he can call out for food, that's all. They put some food for him into the fire. He stops for some time, rather a long time. All the time he stays his relatives must

FIG. 29. Young man's drawing representing men who are dead and have become *urar*. Their legs have rotted away. The claw-like objects represent their 'water that has come down'. The one on the right has not long been dead and his body has not decayed yet.

not wash themselves, they must not eat taro, they must not eat the last food he ate before he died, if he was smoking just before he died they must not smoke. His wife must stop inside the house, she must not work. She makes belts for everybody, enough for all to wear.

All the women put on these belts and do a dance. The near relatives of the dead man wail. They go to the place where the man is buried and make a fire on the top of his grave; they bring fish and taro and put them in the fire. Some lime is put in also; then they march round the fire. They all put lime in their ears. After this they may wash, and eat taro, all except the mother and father and wife of the dead man, they must keep the taboos strictly for a long time yet, they must not comb their hair nor clean their

764 171 [765 301 386]

chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville and called mā (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siuai, but likewise no farther north than there.

766 [565]

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

532 ● 171

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for

mouth and eyes; on the black background of the masks red and white lines and figures were drawn, which imitated the decoration customary at the dances. No particular reverence seemed to be shown to these masks; boys and youths used them for all sorts of pranks, even in the presence of women, and seemed to take particular delight in frightening the women with them. On the Nissan Group the masks are made far more carefully. A frame of bamboo strips that covers the whole head is covered with bast. On this an artificial face is painted with the pulverized nut of parinarium laurinum; an artificial wig of moss or plant fibers is attached to it; the ears are indicated by carved pieces of wood that project. This is one sort of mask that is common there; another sort represents a face carved out of wood, on whose black background the customary artistic facial scarification is carefully imitated with white and red lines; the wigs of these masks are made of human hair and show the coiffure that is customary in that region. A peculiar shirtlike garment with sleeves of fiber material dyed brown goes with the masks. It is draped over the body and reaches to the heels. 532 171

On a voyage to the northern Solomon Islands in October 1897 I found out that the Nissan masks are also in use on the island of Buka, although the form deviates somewhat. After a long questioning I succeeded in obtaining some information about them, but nobody seemed to be inclined to explain exhaustively; the whole matter was treated only with great hesitancy. It was not until I reached Ralum that I succeeded in piecing together the fragments by questioning individual Buka Islanders. They, too, spoke only when I questioned them individually. When several of them were together, they pretended that they knew nothing about the matter. I soon found out that these matters are kept so strictly secret at home that there a betrayal of the secrecy involves a death sentence. Nevertheless I believe that the following portrayal comes very close to the truth.

From time to time the men betake themselves at a prearranged time to a remote spot in the forest, where they clear a little place of bushes and underbrush and erect small huts. This place is called tálohu and the women are strictly forbidden to enter it. In the tálohu they now prepare masks very similar to the above-described ones from Nissan; when they are through, they make of tree bast the previously described shirtlike garment and the garb is then complete. During 796

Music, Song, Dance

Music, song, and -- connected to them -- the dance have many peculiarities in the northwestern Solomon Islands. Musical instruments are present in the form of drums and Panpipes. The drums are hollowed-out tree trunks that are carefully smoothed off on the outside; the sound slit is often decorated with carvings in bas relief, especially with the head that is characteristic for the region or with the whole human figure. These drums come in various sizes; a few of them are gigantic specimens150 centimeters long. As a rule the drums are kept in the huts; less frequently one sees them outside. The drummer takes the drumstick in his right hand and beats it, guiding it by the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in a slow or fast tempo against the side wall of the drum slightly below the sound slit; this produces a resonance that is audible at a great distance. Usually several drums are tuned to various pitches, but I never heard more than four different ones. The natives know how to use these drums to communicate with their distant neighbors in a comprehensible signal language; but the drums are also sounded at dances and other festivities. The skill with which the drummers manipulate their drumsticks is truly astonishing. A slow measure is followed by short rapid beats, then again a few measured beats, once again interrupted by an ever-increasing tempo until finally the beats follow one another so rapidly that they die out as a single long rumble. When several drums are simultaneously beaten at this rapid tempo, the sound is earsplitting for musical European ears, but the Solomon Islanders are delectated by it for hours, and scarcely does one drummer become tired when another one jumps up to continue the noise.

The Panpipes are produced in various sizes from bamboo canes. A concert of these pipes does not sound unpleasant. The individual pipes are tuned according to a certain system; there are some with a scale of four and others with a scale of six tones. Different pitches are produced by varying the length and breadth of the reeds--from the deepest bass to the highest treble. I know no other Melanesian people that is able in this way to produce a melody that has any claim to the name "music." I reproduce here a melody, which, however, is always played in harmony. The low range pipes play the individual chords. Unfortunately I was unable to write down the whole phrase as

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
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fighting-men. This change is but another proof of the decadence of old-time customs in Buka.

Initiates of today range from nine to fifteen years of age. They undergo no particular preparation other than strict instructions to do as they are told by the older men. Initiates are called *tseezen*, those already initiated are termed *putz-putzi*, and the chiefs, masters and headmen are known as *muri-na-lium*.

When a meeting of *muri-na-lium* decides to hold a Ndook ceremony (such decision being governed by the number of candidates available) word is sent to all *putz-putzi* one or two months prior to the fixed date. A general meeting is held and ways and means decided upon for obtaining taro; the making of *makot* (scraped taro and coconut oil); the guests to be invited; those *muri-na-lium* who will exhibit totem figures, and the number of *bahuan* figures that will be made. The supplying of pigs is left to one or two of the older chiefs who secretly despatch a third man to the houses of owners of good fat pigs. This man stealthily thrusts a thick stick, used for carrying trussed pigs, through the doors of the pig-owners. This is a direct sign from Ndook that the owner must provide a pig for the spirit. Failure to do so would entail death. Such penalties have been enforced even of late years.

The totem figures are called *malai*, and are representative of either the *kekiliau* (bush fowl) or *naboin* (sea hawk) totems, which are the only two existing in Buka. The figures, carved from soft timber, take the form of a huge bird gaudily painted with native pigments, stencil ink purloined from some neighbouring plantation, or washing blue. They represent the spirit of a deceased chief or headman belonging to the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting the *malai*. Usually four or five *malai* appear at a ceremony from one village.

The *bahuan*, or secondary spirits (considering Ndook as being of the first order), consist of wooden images seven to eight feet high carved also from soft wood (see Plate II, A). They are attached at the base to long sticks which enable them to be lifted by the *putz-putzi*, who are covered with leaves or bushes. The *bahuan* also represent deceased chiefs of the same totem as the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting them. Keen rivalry is evinced in making these carvings. Sometimes the arms, mouth, tongue, penis or hands are manipulated

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
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by means of a string. The *bahuan* shown in Plate II, B, was acclaimed a work of art by the spectators. It consisted of a framework of rattan covered with black calico, beneath which a *muri-na-lium* danced and gyrated.

Ceremonies are held in a special taboo area upon which no woman is permitted at any time to tread. Any matters connected with Ndook are kept strictly secret from the women (*be-hay*, as Ndook has named them). If one of them trespasses on this ground, catches sight of a carving to be used in a ceremony, or acquires any knowledge of the Ndook, she is put to death even today.

A week to ten days prior to the date of the ceremony *putz-putzi* are detailed to wander about the taboo ground operating the *liahan* and *rago*. The former is a bull-roarer which is looked upon as being the voice of the chief spirit or god. (The word *liahan* seems to signify god rather than a spirit, inasmuch as Liahan is the omnipotent creator of everything. He is invisible, and no attempt has been made to create his likeness in an image as has been done to spirits.) The *rago* is an oscillatory-ribbon-reed instrument[3] consisting of a portion of a coconut leaf tied between two thin strips of stick and fastened into half a coconut shell. A shrill piercing note is given out when the instrument is blown upon. The *rago* represents the cry of Ndook's wife. These cries are continued throughout the days and nights prior to the ceremony and increase in volume and frequency as the appointed day approaches. Along certain highways the travels of Ndook are marked by bushes being trampled down and small trees uprooted.

Guests from neighbouring islands arrive quietly during the night prior to the ceremony and land near the ceremonial ground, keeping hidden from any women and *tseezen*.

When all preparations have been made, *bahuan* and *malai* completed, beds for food erected, and the various *putz-putzi* detailed to their tasks of operating the *bahuan*, carrying *malai* or merely to act as members of the attacking party, the *tseezen* are called from their respective houses by six or seven *muri-na-lium*. They emerge half-fearfully with painted faces and hair oiled and smeared with

[3] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Ed., page 303.

881 breach in death. The chief now gives each initiate a new name,
[553] which must never be changed or dropped. The names chosen are those of deceased *putz-putzi*, who thus continue, in name, to be present at such ceremonies. This custom is for the pleasure of Ndook as well as for the spirits of the departed.

While this is in progress one or more *muri-na-lium* visit the village where the women are still wailing and relate how So-and-so has been dissected by Ndook: his legs are in one island, his head in another, and his arms in still another. Occasionally one of the men smears his body with pig's blood and, standing before several of the women, relates how he was holding his child when Ndook killed him in his arms. Similar anecdotes are related by the newly initiated when they return to their mothers. The explanation for their safe return is that after Ndook had appeased his appetite with pig and taro he relented and restored them to their mothers.

Food is then divided, and as each section or village receives its portion, the men, placing the baskets on their heads, dance in the centre of the ground. They then retire to consume the food, which is known as *goagon* (sacred food). The women are not told that the men eat the food, which is ostensibly supplied for the consumption of Ndook, who if not well fed will wreak his vengeance upon the initiates. All traces of food are removed from the person and hands and faces washed before the men return to the village. They usually pretend to be hungry, and ask at once for something to eat.

842 The natives of Pororan believe that if a married man has sexual
845 intercourse with his wife on the same night that he returns from a ceremony then she will bear twins. If a pregnant woman crosses the path made by Ndook in his travels the child when born will be deformed.

177 The inclusion of the wooden carvings in the Pororan Ndook
778 ceremony is only of very recent origin, dating from 1928. They are
89 copies of the images used in the Sailou district, north Bougainville,
● [533] where initiation ceremonies form a far more important part of the ceremonial life than on Buka. These images were first imported
[134] into Malasang district, south Buka, in about 1920, being purchased with native money. From here they found their way to Hanahan. Prior to this date there were no images, and the ceremony consisted

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
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[342]

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE NATIVES OF BUKA. PLATE II.
A. *Two* bahuan *and four* malai *images.* B. *A group of* tseezen *and* putz-putzi *with a* bahuan *image.*

[p.230(B)]